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STRENGTHENING OF THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN
EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Letter dated 15 April 1992 from the Permanent
Representative of Sudan to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I am pleased to transmit herewith the comments of the Government of the Sudan on the statement which you made to the press at Geneva on 11 April 1992 concerning the situation with regard to humanitarian assistance in the Horn of Africa, particularly in the southern Sudan.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex, containing comments of the Government of the Sudan on the statement to the press made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, circulated as a document of the General Assembly under item 37 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Ahmed SULIMAN
Permanent Representative

* A/47/50.

ANNEX

Comments on the statement by the Secretary-General of the
United Nations at Geneva on 11 April 1992 concerning the
situation in the Horn of Africa

1. The Government of the Sudan refers to the statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at Geneva on 11 April 1992, wherein he expressed his deep concern about the increase in the intensity of armed clashes in the Horn of Africa, particularly in the southern Sudan and Harare province in eastern Ethiopia. While the Government of the Sudan expresses appreciation to the Secretary-General for his concern about the situation in the Horn of Africa and the southern Sudan in particular, it emphasizes for the benefit of the Secretary-General and the other parties concerned with the matter that the problem of the southern Sudan is an internal question. It takes this opportunity to explain the facts relating to the operations being carried out by the Sudanese security forces to establish security, maintain order, prepare the way for stability, peace and development and put an end to the inhuman atrocities being committed by the rebels in the southern Sudan against innocent civilians and tens of thousands of children detained in their camps. The Government of the Sudan deems the current measures urgently necessary in order to ensure that internal and external humanitarian assistance reaches Sudanese citizens in the southern part of the country, where assistance has been affected by the prevailing situation. The current measures are in no way an obstacle to the final settlement of the various aspects of the existing political disputes through negotiations.

2. Since 30 June 1989, when the revolution of national salvation took over, the Sudanese Government has been trying seriously to establish lasting peace in the southern part of the country and has selected to this end the course of serious direct negotiations with the rebel movement, as stated in the first communiqué of the revolution. Below is a brief review of the steps taken by the Sudanese Government to achieve that end:

- The Government began its peace process by showing its good intentions and has striven to build bridges of confidence and to prepare a natural climate for the start of rounds of negotiations by declaring a unilateral cease-fire and an amnesty for those carrying arms and by continuing the Operation Lifeline Sudan to save the lives of citizens exposed to starvation in the south as a result of the war.
- In August 1989, the Sudanese Government presented its peace initiative and convened the first round of negotiations with the rebel movement in Addis Ababa on 19 and 20 August 1989. It ended with agreement on the procedural process for continuing the negotiation efforts, including adherence to the cease-fire and permission for the continued flow of relief to war victims in the south.

- On 9 September 1989, the Government made preparations to convene the largest national conference in the history of the Sudan for an open democratic dialogue on peace issues, with the participation of all national forces representing the popular will in the north and in the south, with the exception of the rebel movement, which refused to participate in the proceedings of the conference. The dialogue proceeded with full knowledge and aware seriousness and in absolute freedom. It produced comprehensive and flexible recommendations comprising a scientific national conception of how to deal in depth with all the issues that constitute an essential and non-procedural source of conflict with the rebel movement: participation in power, distribution of the national income, expression of cultural diversity, identity and relation of religion to the State. On 1 November 1989, the legislative and executive authorities of the Sudan approved those recommendations as issued by the comprehensive national conference and adopted them as an integral programme for peace negotiations with the rebel movement. The conference sent intensive delegations to put this programme before the international community, particularly the neighbouring States having an effect on and effected by the war in the south.
- The most prominent of the recommendations of the above-mentioned conference of national dialogue on peace issues in the Sudan was its approval of the option of federalism as the mode of government in the Sudan and as a way to settle disputes arising from problems of participation in power. The Sudanese Government actually applied the federal system and established nine States, which included the southern part of the country, and, out of respect for the non-Muslim majority in the south (a mixture of Islam, Christianity and African beliefs), the Sudanese Government excepted the southern States from the provisions of Islamic laws relating to hadd punishments and personal status that are currently applied in the northern States of the Sudan, in order that the inhabitants of the southern States might determine the legal system that suited them when conditions stabilized.
- On the basis of the above-mentioned programme, the Sudanese Government convened a second round of negotiations from 30 November to 5 December in Nairobi, Kenya, and the Government regarded the rebel movement's acknowledgement that the Government programme was a sound basis for peace negotiations as indicating the success of that second round, in spite of the obstacles constituted by the prior conditions set by the rebels and in spite of their escalation of military operations. The Government thus took the first initiative and made the initial move towards peace.
- The Sudanese Government, aware of its increasing national responsibility in the context of its earnest striving for peace and the necessity of removing the effects of the war of devastating destruction threatening man and the environment and possibly the

hope of achieving development and escaping from the vicious circle of backwardness, welcomed the good offices of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, the Nigerian President

Mr. Ibrahim Babangida, which the Sudanese Government still regards as an appropriate approach and a good opportunity to convince the rebel movement (both halves) to resort to serious negotiation as the only way to settle the various aspects of the dispute (where they exist). The Sudanese Government declares once again its appreciation for those good offices. It hopes that negotiations will be resumed in the near future and will lead to a radical solution to the armed conflicts in the southern Sudan.

3. The rebel movement, which enjoys the support of only a small isolated segment of the inhabitants of the southern Sudan, still constitutes the greatest obstacle in the way of the achievement of peace in the south. The rebel movement could not convince some millions of southerners who were displaced by the war and forced to migrate to the north to join it. It also continued to remain outside the system, incapable of stating its true goals. Finally, the movement split into two large tribal segments that dispute with each other the power that has not yet been obtained. As a result, tens of thousands of civilians in the southern Sudan are suffering. Many lives have been lost on both sides, and the property of others and State installations have been exposed to deliberate sabotage. Below we list, by way of example and not by way of exhaustive enumeration, some of the atrocities committed by the rebel movement against the Sudan and the people of the south in particular:

- The halting of the flow of relief materials and humanitarian assistance sent by the Government or provided by the United Nations under the third phase of Operation Lifeline Sudan and insistence by the rebel movement on controlling the course and the distribution of relief materials and humanitarian assistance in order to realize their aims of enlisting civilians in the rebel ranks against their will.
- Engagement by the rebel movement in the most repugnant collective human rights violations witnessed by the African continent in recent times: the physical liquidation of their political enemies and the imprisonment of thousands of opponents in revolting conditions, in addition to the recruitment of children as fighters to the ranks of the rebel movement, since it is now unable to enlist adults. There are currently more than 12,000 children held hostage by the rebel John Garang alone in the forced training camps.
- Owing to the disputes that have arisen between the rebel leaders, their movement split into two large sections, belonging to the Dinka and the Nuer tribes respectively. They fight between themselves constantly, and this has caused the death of thousands on both sides, the death of tens of thousands of heads of cattle and the migration of large groups from both tribes away from the centres of fighting either to the south or to the north, whichever is easier.

Relief operations to those areas have consequently become complicated owing to the migration of the citizens as a result of the war.

4. There are also other, indirect causes that have contributed to obstruction of the peace efforts, namely, a tendency of some voluntary relief organizations and some relevant international organizations to fuel the fire of civil war, encourage the rebel movement and provide it with material and moral assistance in the guise of humanitarian action and provision of relief. The Sudanese Government has recently been compelled to warn a respected international organization that was found on material and circumstantial evidence to be assisting the rebel movement by permitting its aircraft and means of transport to be used for carrying weapons and ammunition to the rebels in the south. Also, among the indirect causes are the silence of relevant authorities in the United Nations and non-governmental organizations working in the Horn of Africa regarding the atrocities committed by the rebel movement, in particular the question of the forcible recruitment of children and thrusting them into arenas of armed conflict, impeding the flow of relief to the needy in the southern Sudan and random bombing of civilian quarters in the town of Juba on an ongoing basis. In this regard, the Government of the Sudan believes that condemnation of these inhumane actions and the collective violations of human rights perpetrated by the rebel movement emanating from the international organization and other organizations active in the area would promote peace and bring the rebel movement to the negotiating table under the auspices of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, President Ibrahim Babangida.

5. The war in the south has resulted in the migration of the majority of the inhabitants to the north, where they now number more than three and a half million. They used to live on the outskirts of towns and around waste collection centres in difficult circumstances healthwise and environmentally. The Sudanese Government, in spite of the scant resources at its disposal, has set up centres to house the migrants where they can enjoy better health conditions and have access to fresh water and health centres. Instead of providing health, environmental and relief aid to these migrants in the centres, some biased international elements have made the enormous and estimable effort on the part of the Sudanese Government into political material for disparaging it and impugning its intentions. The Sudanese Government also considers that this negative position on the part of certain international organizations and media institutions constitutes an obstacle to the process of establishing peace in the southern Sudan.

6. The military operations being carried out by the Sudanese security forces in the south are a part of a series of measures taken by the Government in other parts of the Sudan, such as Darfur State, which had been prey to armed bands and which now enjoys tranquillity and stability, and its development cycle is beginning quietly. In the southern Sudan, the military measures are aimed at the thing itself and at preparing circumstances propitious for the Peace and Development of the Organization established recently by the Sudanese Government to begin the reconstruction of the south, to assist the citizens in the southern Sudan in achieving stability in their areas and to ensure that

humanitarian relief and assistance reach those in need and that they receive services and are helped to be productive and to contribute to the promotion of the economy of the Sudan. In this regard, the Sudanese Government appeals to the United Nations, to donor States and to the international community to support the operation of development and stability being carried out by the Peace and Development Organization in the southern Sudan.

7. The Sudanese Government, in issuing these comments on the statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, draws attention to the special nature of the problem of the Sudanese south as a purely internal question. Its comments on the statement by the Secretary-General do not indicate either explicit or implicit approval on its part of the invitation to outsiders to intervene in any of its internal affairs. It stresses, at the same time, its full control of the situation in the southern Sudan. The Government of the Sudan hopes that its current efforts will meet with concern and material and moral support, particularly in those areas where the authority of the State and the rule of law have been established in preparation for the achievement there of stability and development.
